1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Village Hygiene

364 This closer contact with the ideas and the services of the city is helping
[369] overcome one of the negative aspects of village life from the survival standpoint, namely, its lack of adequate hygienic provisions. When Greek villages are judged in terms of what one finds in many rural settlements throughout the United States and Western Europe, they measure up fairly well. They have their expected quota of flies, their problems of sewage disposal, and the difficulties of obtaining pure drinking water, but these concerns are common to farm people in other parts of the world.

364 When, however, one measures the Greek village by scientific standards
312 of public hygiene — and these should be the goal in the interest of better health for its people — then there are obvious shortcomings. According to *Medical and Sanitary Data on Greece*:

> many of the rural sections depend on small springs and hand-dug wells for their water supplies. These are usually isolated from inhabited areas and the water is not piped to the villages. It is quite common to see women carrying water in earthenware containers from sources as far as a mile from their homes.
>
> In semi-rural communities, particularly in the lowlands where underground water is more common, public wells, springs and private wells are often in use. Many private wells exist all over Greece and are sometimes the preferred sources of supply, even where safe piped supplies are provided. In some of the smaller Ionian and Aegean Islands and in a few villages in the northeastern Peloponnese and eastern Crete, the complete lack of any surface or underground water has compelled the population to depend on rain water collected from the roofs of their homes.
>
> Many private and public wells and many rural springs are open and unprotected from contamination which may be introduced by the human or animal population which it serves. . . . Even after collection, the water is frequently subject to contamination in containers. . . .[9]

The urban water supplies are more apt to be adequate with proper precautions taken for filtration and chlorination.[9]

364 A description of waste disposal is also contained in the report quoted
514 above:

> For the disposal of human excreta in the rural areas of Greece either the pit privy or bored-hole latrines are utilized. Defecation on the ground is still widely practiced due to lack of sanitary facilities in residences and schools. However, the sanitary type of bored-hole latrine and pit privy has been installed under various programs at low cost to villagers in rural areas mainly as demonstration projects.[10]

164 In addition to the obvious visible signs of sanitation progress, one can
165 learn much from the list of causes of death for Greece as a whole. Table 2 shows the first fifteen general causes of death for 1950. Some of the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

When walking through a mountain village, one often looks from an upper lane down upon several tiers of houses beneath, since the buildings compactly hug the slope vertically rather than stretch in a narrow row at the same level. This gives a good opportunity to observe the roof types, one of the simplest ways used by Greek folklorists in the classification of village homes. There are, in general, two main types of roof: the sloping, which predominates on the mainland, and in which the slopes from either side of the central roof beam may or may not be of equal length. If they are equal, one has the eagle type or saddle-back type. The second general type is the flat roof, called *doma*, found chiefly on the islands and characteristically Mediterranean. The houses with a sloping roof can be further divided into two types: the one-story house of the plains and the two-story house of the mountains. These types have been well described by George A. Megas and Angelike Chatzemichale, as well as by other students of Greek architecture.

The peasant, of course, will not tell you that his house is of the two-story, sloping-roof type. Instead, he will want to show you where he carries on his daily activities after he has served you some refreshment in the part of the house reserved for such honors. He will introduce you to some of the domestic animals almost as though they were members of the family; he will show you how his wife makes bread and will call to her, "Helene, come out here and show our guest how you put the loaves into the oven." He will want you to see the few tools he uses in repairing a wagon, an implement, or a piece of harness. Now and then, if the scenery warrants it, he will stop and show you the view and ask you if you ever gazed upon a more beautiful sight. He will apologize for the mud in the yard, reminding you, "we are just village folk and this is just a village home." When he tells his daughter to get busy at the homemade loom to show you how she weaves the coarse cloth, he will casually ask, "Do women in America weave as pretty cloth as our women in Greece?"

Should his house be one of the few with a flush toilet or with a homemade privy superior to the others in the village, this may be the first wonder he will proudly display. There is no rhyme or reason to the tour of the small farm, nor should there be. Somewhere en route, perhaps while one is still enjoying the sweets offered upon arrival, the family photographs will be passed around, special attention being centered upon the young man living in Chicago, Los Angeles, or Pittsburgh, who regularly sends remittances back to his family — or at least he did until he married an American wife. One is immediately aware that this is a home, a place where people live rather than merely a house consisting of building materials fashioned into some kind of suitable pattern.

Nevertheless, anyone interested in carrying away some lasting impression of a Greek home needs to pay attention to the house itself. I was fortu-

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/863 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

windowless houses. There are also newer versions of the one-story house now being built in the village. They are one-room structures with red brick walls, flat roofs, and no facing of any kind to finish them off. This is the type of house several of the shepherd families have had built for themselves. They find them a considerable improvement over the reed huts. Two young farmers who have married girls from the village have also built houses like these for themselves in order to avoid having to live in the already cramped quarters of their parents.

The other types of construction in the village are stone-walled ovens which are usually extensions of the lower part of the house (access to them is always from outdoors), brick housing for the turkish-style latrines used in the village, stone parapets for the wells which are scattered throughout the village, and the occasional stone wall which surrounds a house compound. The most desired pattern for a household's compound in Vasilika is a large two-story house with an oven, one or two storage houses, a latrine, and a large yard with some mulberry trees, a grape arbor, and a small garden, all surrounded by a ten- or twelve-foot wall with one or two gates as the only mode of entrance and exit. One man in the village has just such a compound. Several others have similar ones, but with lower surrounding walls. For the rest, there may be fewer buildings and no enclosure, or perhaps the requisite buildings with a wire fencing as a substitute for the walls.

The first principle of arrangement of Vasilika's buildings is that places of public resort face the main street and are fairly close to each other at the western end of the village. The principle governing the arrangement of houses is different. They are individually oriented with respect to the street and to Mt. Parnassos (which is off to the northwest) but not with respect to each other. That is to say, the entrance to each house faces either in the direction of the street or directly away from the mountain. This is not true of outbuildings, however, the entrances of which are found on any of the four sides of the buildings. This combination of orientations and the habit of building enclosing stone walls or wire fencing, with the gates or paths through these on different sides, results in a clustering of structures randomly arranged with respect to each other. The single rocky path leading from one house door may reach the entrance of another house, or it may lead along a roundabout path which skirts the back of a storage house, or it may lead to a well yard or to a stone wall. A walk around several house compounds may be necessary to get from one house to the doorway of another which is right next to it. Some buildings have very narrow alleys between them; others are separated from each other by paths of differing widths and open spaces of varying size. The houses of Vasilika are not, therefore, arranged in neat rows with straight paths between, nor are they laid out in an orderly system of concentric semicircles or similar patterns of rectangles or squares. Since the buildings are of different heights themselves and stand on different levels of the hill and since there are no clear rows of paths, one does not get a panoramic view of the activities of the villagers as they move around close to their houses even when one looks down from the windows or verandas of the houses higher up on the slope. Instead, one may see only the back of another house, or a small part of a path which a neighbor uses. Even the

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

The wedding crowns, white wreaths of small artificial flowers, are a necessary part of the Greek Orthodox wedding ritual, and, indeed, give a name to the ceremonial to distinguish it from an engagement. *"Stefanosbikan akoma?"* "Have they been crowned yet?" is one way to ask whether a couple are married or still merely engaged. The crowns, which were blessed as part of the wedding, symbolize the founding of a new family under God, and their preservation is an expression of the desire to preserve the health and welfare of the family. That the intercession of the saints is a valuable form of assistance in coping with the problems of life is taken for granted in Vasilika; the icon with the light burning before it and the prayers addressed to the saint constitute a regular plea for the holy one's protection of the family.

The importance of the house as an adjunct of the life of the family is further emphasized by the request each family makes to have a priest bless a new home before the family moves in. An *ayazmos*, as it is called, places the house under God's protection, in the villagers' view, and the ceremonial is significant because building a house is a new and hazardous venture for a family whose success in this world as in the next, it is assumed, is ultimately in God's hands.

Cleanliness and Order

Sanitary facilities in Vasilika play a part in each family's striving for sophistication. A few households have no latrines. The majority have a small wooden outbuilding or a partitioned section of a storehouse for a Turkish-style toilet. This consists of a large excavation in the ground lined with stones and rocks, covered by wooden planks which form the floor of the latrine proper. There is no seat, but the planks are arranged so as to leave a small opening over which one squats to relieve himself. The newer facilities stand as separate structures made of brick, and the floor is cemented so that there is a slight slope toward the center opening. Finally, the best of these arrangements is one in which a specially designed ceramic floor fixture is imbedded in the cement flooring. From the villagers' point of view, the newer latrines are not valued because they constitute better sanitation, but because the villagers' urban relatives have been ridiculing them for not having some kind of toilet.

Just as the public world of the villagers is a world of men, so the house in Vasilika is primarily the domain of women. Women take pride in the skill with which they accomplish their many housekeeping tasks; they gain some satisfaction from completing each day's ordinary chores, as well as from the successful and skilled completion of their trousseau items. The standards of good housewifery in the village require considerable expenditure of time and energy on the maintenance of the home. Villagers value order and cleanliness—order in the sense of stylized neatness, and cleanliness as an avoidance of obvious dirt. We have already mentioned the neat piles of bedding covered with snow-white cloth. When the household has no wardrobe, there is a white covering over the clothes hanging on the wall that protects them from dust, and also creates an

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

ambivalence that is usually found in mobile societies between participants in different levels of culture and occupants of different prestige and power levels in the social structure. I do not suggest a relationship entirely free of suspicion or jealousy, but there is considerable evidence that the villagers take substantial pride in the very fact that their urban kin have a social position of greater prestige. The latter often view their country relatives with no more than a mildly paternal condescension. Charges of urban snobbishness on the one hand, and of peasant crudeness on the other, are usually reserved for those outside the circle of one's own kin.

The line of urban cultural influence, then, runs something like this: New ideas and attitudes, and changes in style of life, are brought to the notice of a village family by its urban relatives. However, if a village household adopts at least some of the new traits, it is only partly because of the respect which it pays to its urban kin. A more powerful influence is often the strong sense of competition which the rural household feels toward other village families, on which it hopes to score a point by showing superior sophistication. Those village families which have no urban relatives gradually try to copy the behavior of those which do. Some degree of urban influence stemming from urban relatives of villagers therefore penetrates the entire village community.

Such competition for prestige often encourages spending beyond the boundaries of economic wisdom, quite on the "keeping up with the Joneses" pattern. So the resources of the villagers may be used for elegant urban-style clothes which are attractive at Easter but are soon afterwards worn for ordinary work. A lightweight wool dress, for example, is unwearable in a few months after having been washed several times in hot water and pounded with a paddle to release the soil and other dirt which clings to it. The same sort of thing holds for men's shoes. They are standard city shoes which are worn for heavy farm work throughout the year with no boots or other protection from the weather. However, it is also significant that the imitation of urban styles accounts for other kinds of innovations. For example, it has become fashionable to build new-style privies which are an improvement on the sanitary facilities in the village. The new type has a concrete floor which slopes down toward a center hole, or has a specially made ceramic fixture incorporating the slope and center hole, instead of movable wooden floor boards arranged to leave a space in the center—or, of course, no privy at all. There is also a new fashion in the building in which such facilities are housed. If possible, it will now be constructed of brick rather than of wattle and daub or of reed. To give another instance, the imitation of urban styles has also undoubtedly contributed to the increasing willingness of the villagers to be hospitalized for serious illness (Friedl 1958).

The description of continuous face-to-face contact with village relatives given in this paper holds well for at least the generation that has itself left the village, and for its children. The grandchildren of those who left the village for the towns will, when they become adult, make fewer visits back to the village, and the ties of association between country and city relatives gradually loosen with the passage of time. But, since social mobility is a continuing phenomenon

/68 cont./ 164 [752]
reward. Whenever there is a tooth-ache, whether the tooth is good or bad, the remedy is to pull it out. Often the patient is tied up against a tree and three or four people hold him while the practical dentist ties a string around the tooth and pulls it out. /69/ Often the string breaks before the tooth is out.

It has become a custom to wash the hands and mouth after a meal. It is the raw vegetables, the hard-baked bread and the ignorance of the tooth paste and toothbrush that keep their teeth healthy and strong. [264] [515]

Sanitary privies. The sanitary privy is one of the urgent necessities of the family, but one seldom comes across it in any village. Megali Vrisi, having had the privilege of having a doctor and a nurse, started building new sanitary privies. Many farmers still use the old method of fencing a corner and placing two large stones for the people to stand on. No ditch whatsoever is prepared for this. Fortunately, the climate is dry and everything evaporates and dries. One of the causes for extensive intestinal diseases among the young was due to these old-fashioned privies. People are learning, more and more, the source of house flies and the breeding sources of diseases among their children. Even the present privies are not so safe, but have reduced the troubles considerably. 514 • 514 744

People who still cannot believe that diseases are caused by micro-organisms, do not fully appreciate the means to combat them. [753]

/70/ Health in relation to housing. As mentioned in the previous paragraphs, the houses were built by the farmers at a time of great necessity and there was no time to think about the sanitary side of the house. The farmers wanted a shelter for their families and thus built a square, one-room house with as few windows as possible, and with a small door to cut down the cost. Living conditions under such circumstances were naturally very unhealthy, since the whole family had to keep everything in the same room and have a family of five sleep in the same bed. 362 [513]

The further evolution of this type mainly concerns the interior arrangement of space. Namely, while on the ground floor the space of the inner basement was left as it was, or was divided into two parts, in the upper floor a narrow corridor is sometimes created between the rooms, leading to the lavatory which is built outside, on the back of this floor(1) (fig. 17, Plate III7) or a middle space is created between

342 x [514]

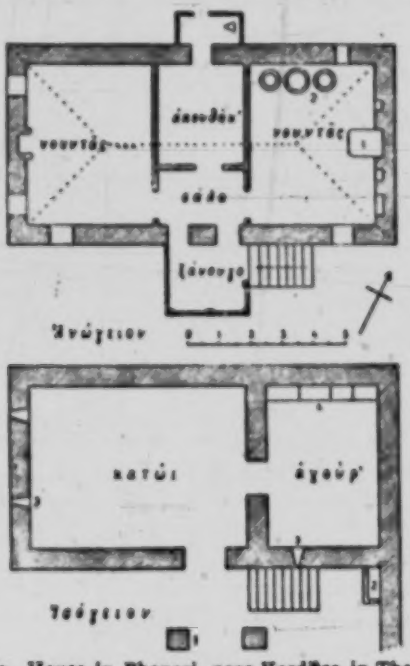

Fig. 19 House in Phanari, near Karditsa in Thessaly
(Ο. Megas, Οικοδομικαί σύμβολαι, fig. 43)

the rooms(2) (Plate III 7a) usually divided by a thin middle wall in two unequal parts (fig. 19). The larger of these is used as a cellar, and the smaller as ante-room or entrance to the rooms on each side, as in the tripartite single floor houses(3) (Plate VIa) or is used as a drawing room (σάλα) where ends the staircase from the lower floor(4) (fig. 20).

1) Ibid. figg. 37, 44a A. 48.
2) Ibid. figg. 42, 44a second floor.
3) See fig. 12, above.
4) Ibid. figg. 45, 46, 47.

losis in the provinces as compared to the cities, and Greeks interviewed gave as their opinion that this was true of the health picture generally.

Doctors are very highly respected. There have been women doctors in Greece, as well as women dentists, for many years; but the village image of the doctor is one of a man. However, a woman is much freer to discuss gynecological difficulties with a woman physician. There is great reluctance to mention the genital areas, and many women do not even know the appropriate terms to use. The acceptance of the *metriga*, the maternity difficulties, may be partly due to the reluctance to have this general area exposed and examined.

The handicapped are not easily accepted in Greece. To be crippled, blind, lame, means that one is not quite a person. Children might even jeer at the handicapped without being reprimanded. Amputation is therefore a terrible calamity, because it makes a person incomplete. Such a person cannot be accorded the respect that goes with the ability to assume responsibility. Parents may discourage their daughter from marrying a one-armed man whom they otherwise like in every respect, and who is perfectly capable of making a good living. Such people are assumed to be dependent. Greeks were bewildered by an UNRRA one-armed worker. Not only was he in the wrong function, but he could not fall into any known pattern of relationship, since he insisted on being physically self-sufficient. Since he would not accept help, the Greeks were uncomfortable with him, not knowing how to treat him.

Malaria, the great scourge which increased tuberculosis through lowering resistance, and which decreased production by sapping the energy, is now almost completely defeated by the spectacular DDT campaign. In the beginning of the campaign, the specialists, unaware of the peasants' love of sleeping in their orchards on hot summer nights, sprayed only the interiors of houses; when breeding grounds were also attacked, however, the campaign was totally effective, and has been of inestimable value for the introduction of further changes, since it won the confidence of the people.

Traditionally, there is no connexion between hygienic measures and health. Cleanliness is part of being well-ordered and well-groomed, not a matter of removing germs. And cleanliness is patterned. There is a day for scrubbing the kitchen floor, for changing sheets, for changing underwear, for going to the bath; there is a time for washing the face and the hands. There were never many latrines in rural areas and the situation has been aggravated through the war; in 1948, it was reported that 98 per cent of the farmers had no latrines.

NUTRITION

The Greek meal is a family ritual. It is a social occasion, a communion of the family, which does not have to be enhanced by special